

**Arafat Investigated Transcript 9 Nov. 03**

**MOONSTONE FILMS**

**CORRESPONDENT**

**ARAFAT INVESTIGATED**

**TITLE SEQUENCE**

59:57

00:00

**MUSIC**

**TITLE:**

**'CORRESPONDENT'**

00:06

**ARCHIVE: SLO-MO MS ARAFAT**

**SLO-MO MEDICS ATTENDING SUICIDE  
BOMB VICTIM**

00:10

00:11

00:12

**PRESIDENT BUSH V/O**

**Mr Arafat has failed  
as a leader.**

**MS ISRAELI TANKS DRIVES L-R**

**MS ARAB WOMEN AT GRAVESIDE, PAN  
TO GRAVES  
MS PARADE OF WOULD-BE SUICIDE  
BOMBERS, EXPLOSIVES STRAPPED  
AROUND WAISTS**

00:14

00:17

00:20

**PRESIDENT BUSH V/O**

**If the Palestinian people want peace  
they must have leadership that is  
absolutely**

**100% committed to fighting off terror**

**L/A WS ARAFAT GIVES VICTORY  
SIGNAL FROM WINDOW**

**MS ARMS OF MAN IN CROWD  
SIGNALLING BACK**

00:24

00:25

00:33

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**COMM**

**Yasser Arafat, once a regular visitor to the White House, has been put into isolation by President Bush and Ariel Sharon, Israel's prime minister. Are they right to blame him for three years of killing?**

00:39

**EYAD SARRAJ V/O**  
**Arafat knows -**

**MS EYAD SARRAJ, I/V SYNC**

00:40

**EYAD SARRAJ**  
**- that military we cannot win over the Israelis.**

**ARCHIVE: SLO-MO MS ARAFAT RAISES ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI'S ARM ALOFT**

**SLO-MO WS ARMED PALESTINIANS IN STREET**

00:43

00:49

**EYAD SARRAJ V/O**  
**But he, I think believes, that by using armed struggle that he could squeeze the Israelis into making peace**

**SLO-MO MS ISRAELI CARRYING INJURED GIRL**

00:53

00:54

**EHUT OLMERT V/O**  
**don't tell me that we are ignoring their leader.**

**MS EHUT OLMERT, I/V SYNC**

**FADE TO BLACK**

00:57

**EHUT OLMERT**  
**We are ignoring a terrorist killer.**

**ARCHIVE: MS ARAFAT GIVING VICTORY SALUTE**  
**FREEZE FRAME & TITLE SUPERED: 'ARAFAT INVESTIGATED'**

01:00

01:02

**EXT. DAY: L/A WS BOWEN'S ARMoured PRESS CAR DRIVES TOWARD CAMERA**

01:07

**MS BOWEN DRIVING, TO CAMERA**

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**CAPTION SUPERED:  
'JEREMY BOWEN'**

01:15

01:16

**JEREMY BOWEN**

I've been covering the Middle East since 1990. I was based in Jerusalem for five years as the BBC's Middle East correspondent. All that time one of the fixed points has always been Yasser Arafat. For getting on for four decades, he's been the leader of the Palestinians. I've come back to see why Sharon and Bush want to replace him. And to see how well they're doing.

**L/A WS BOWEN'S CAR APPROACHES &  
PASSES CAMERA**

01:39

**GVs ARMED GUARDS AT CHECKPOINT  
CHECKING DOCUMENTS ETC**

01:42

01:43

**MUSIC**

01:45

01:53

**COMM**

You can't drive more than a few miles in the West Bank without running into an Israeli army checkpoint.

**COMM**

Most Palestinians, most of the time, can't leave their towns and villages.

**MCU ISRAELI FLAG SEEN THRU  
WINDOW OF ARMoured CAR**

01:58

**MS BOWEN DRIVING, VIEW OF ROAD  
AHEAD THRU WINDSCREEN**

**BCU BOWEN, PROFILE**

02:01

02:02

02:06

**COMM**

It's simpler for journalists – though we travelled in a bullet proof vehicle. In the occupied territories it's easy to be in the wrong place at the wrong time.

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**WS TRACK PAST RAMALLAH ROAD  
SIGH**

**TRACKING SHOTS OF RAMALLAH  
STREETS**

02:10

02:12

02:14

**COMM**

This was Ramallah, the town where  
Yasser Arafat  
is confined. I drove in just after suicide  
bombers had killed 15 Israelis.

**MS SHUTTERED UP SHOP**

**CU PADLOCK**

**WS SHUTTERED SHOPS**

**MCU PADLOCK FASTENED**

02:22

02:24

02:26

02:29

**COMM**

Shopkeepers were locking up early.  
Everyone was expecting more  
Israeli reprisals – the question  
was what they'd do.

**CU SHOPKEEPER, I/V SYNC**

**CAPTION SUPERED:**

**'HANI ABU SHRIEF'**

02::31

02:33

**HANI ABU SHRIEF (translation)**

I am afraid the army will come back  
again and do what they did before. This  
way we'll be ready to shut down to avoid  
any danger to the shop.

**O/S WS HANI ABU SHRIEF**

02:43

02:44

**BOWEN**

What – what is  
the expectation of people in Ramallah at  
the moment?

**BCU HANI ABU SHRIEF**

02:46

02:48

**HANI ABU SHRIEF (translation)**

Everyone expects a full invasion tonight,  
especially at the President's headquarters.

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**TRACKING SHOTS PAST BLASTED &  
BATTERED BUILDINGS OF ARAFAT'S  
COMPOUND**

02:57

02:59

**COMM**

On the edge of Ramallah's town centre is  
Yasser Arafat's West Bank headquarters.  
For 18 months this has been his world.

**WS GUARD SLUMPED IN CHAIR BY  
RUINED GATEWAY**

03:07

**MUSIC**

**WS SHATTERED BUILDING**

**WS PILE OF BURNT-OUT CARS  
WS BOWEN, PAN R WITH HIM**

03:10

03:12

03:13

03:15

**COMM**

Most of it has been blown up  
or bulldozed during Israeli incursions.  
Arafat doesn't leave in case the Israelis  
don't allow him back.

**MS TATTERED ARAFAT POSTERS ON  
WALL**

**MS MAN LOOKING OUT OF WINDOW  
THRU BINOCULARS**

03:20

03:21

03:23

**COMM**

But even though Arafat is isolated,  
he's not alone. He can't go out, so people  
come to him.

**WS PRO-ARAFAT DEMONSTRATORS  
WITH BANNERS**

**GVs DEMONSTRATORS WITH FLAGS**

03:26

03:29

03:30

**CHANTING**

**COMM**

Arafat's people call him  
Abu Ammar – father of the builder. It's a  
name he took on when he was a young  
man.

**L/A LS ARAFAT WAVES FROM UPPER**

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**WINDOW**

03:36

**CHANTING (subtitles)**

**Give us weapons, Abu 'Ammar**

**MS DEMONSTRATOR CHANTING INTO  
LOUDHAILER**

03:40

**The Zionists will be set alight**

**CU MAN CHANTING**

03:44

**Yasser (obscured) Yasser**

03:48

**He's the symbol of the people**

**BCU BOWEN WATCHING**

**CU MAN IN YELLOW HEADSCARF**

03:52

03:56

**COMM**

**Arafat is confined here because Israel,  
and the Americans, say he is  
responsible for the violence – especially  
the suicide bombings.**

**L/A MS ARAFAT LEADING CHANT  
FROM UPPER WINDOW**

04:00

**CHANTING (subtitles)**

**We were born to carry  
machine guns**

**CU MAN HOLDS UP ARAFAT POSTER**

04:04

**We pledge ourselves to the cause  
WS JEEP APPROACHES, CAMERAN  
EMERGES FROM SIDESTREET**

04:08

**ISRAELI PLANE FLYING OVERHEAD**

04:12

**MS JEREMY BOWEN TO CAMERA**

04:17

**JEREMY BOWEN**

**The Israelis have raided Ramallah today.  
Their jeeps have been cruising past the  
gates of the compound. Their tanks are  
never more than a mile or so away.  
Everybody here is expecting trouble –  
maybe big trouble.**

**ISRAELI JET FLYING OVERHEAD**

04:30

**GVs RUBBLE BEING CLEARED**

04:43

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04:37

**COMM**

As the Palestinians rearranged the rubble, the Israelis did not, after all, send in the troops. Instead the Israeli cabinet decided to exile Arafat. That's still a step too far for the Americans, so no date was set.

**EXT. EVE: WS RAMALLAH STREET AT DUSK  
FADE TO**

04:51

**MUSIC**

**H/A PANORAMIC SHOT OF  
COUNTYSIDE, HIGHWAY IN R F/G**

04:55

**EXT. NIGHT: WS COLUMN OF TRAFFIC  
IN JAM ON HIGHWAY**

04:59

**WS MAN STANDING BY CAR DOOR  
LOOKING AT TRAFFIC AHEAD**

05:00

05:03

**COMM**

It was slow getting back to Jerusalem that night. Israel, like the Palestinians, was expecting more violence.

**MS JEREMY BOWEN AT ROADSIDE, TO  
CAMERA**

05:07

**JEREMY BOWEN**

It looks as if the police have had another warning about suicide bombers trying to get into Jerusalem. This is one of the main highways into the city. A roadblock has been set up about a mile that way. It's jammed solid.

**GVs PALESTINIANS HAVING PAPERS &  
VEHICLES CHECKED AT ROADBLOCK**

05:21

**H/A WS TRAFFIC JAM**

05:22

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05:37

**COMM**

Palestinians using the roads are automatically suspects. Israel insists all its actions are in self defence. Its overwhelmingly strong security forces control the roads, the sea and the sky – but it holds Yasser Arafat responsible when the bombers get through.

**ARCHIVE: SLO-MO AFTERMATH OF SUICIDE BOMBING, INJURED HELPED TO AMBULANCES ETC**

05:42

**MUSIC**

**CAPTION: [OBSCURED]**

05:47

05:48

**COMM**

This bomb, these killings – and more of the same in Tel Aviv – led directly to the order for Arafat's expulsion.

**MS BLOODSTAINED ROAD  
FADE TO**

05:56

**STILL: DAVID APPLEBAUM &  
DAUGHTER Z/I TO BCU**

06:01

06:03

**COMM**

Among the dead in Jerusalem were Dr David Applebaum and his daughter Nava.

**MS JEREMY BOWEN OUTSIDE  
APPLEBAUM'S HOUSE, TO CAMERA**

06:09

**JEREMY BOWEN**

The Applebaum family home is just there – it's about a mile from, where David and Nava Applebaum were killed. The Jewish tradition is that for about a week after people die, the family receive condolence visits from friends and relations. I'm just going up there now.

**MCU WOMAN ENTERING HOUSE**

06:28

**CU PHOTO ALBUM IN HANDS**

06:30

**STILL: CU DAVID APPLEBAUM**

06:33



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**FADE TO**

06:34

**COMM**

David Applebaum, originally from the United States, was a well-known local doctor.

**STILL: APPLEBAUM LOOKING AT X-RAY**

06:38

06:39

**NATAN APPLEBAUM V/O**

My dad spent his life helping others. He was a doctor -

**MCU NATAN APPLEBAUM, I/V SYNC**

**CAPTION SUPERED:**

**'NATAN APPLEBAUM'**

06:44

06:46

**NATAN APPLEBAUM**

- in various hospitals, on the ambulances. He was the first one at many terrorist attacks. He saved thousands and thousands of lives.

**WS PEOPLE ENTERING HOUSE TO OFFER CONDOLENCES**

06:53

**CU MAN**

06:54

06:57

**NATAN APPLEBAUM V/O**

He was - he was in the States, he came back Tuesday morning. Tuesday night he was killed.

**STILL: NAVA IN WEDDING DRESS**

07:00

**COMM**

Nava Applebaum and her father were killed on the night before her wedding.

07:05

**NATAN APPLEBAUM V/O**

My sister's hopes were -

**MCU NATAN APPLEBAUM, I/V SYNC**

07:06

**NATAN APPLEBAUM**

- to get married and start - start her - her family and continue living here.

**CU PHOTO ALBUM, TILT UP TO MAN LOOKING AT IT**

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**BCU GIRL**

07:12

07:21

**NATAN APPLEBAUM V/O**

Everybody was home having last preparations people were hungry so they decided to go get some takeaway and he purposely went with her so he could have a chat with her.

**GVs RELATIONS, FRIENDS CHATTING**

07:23

07:24

**NATAN APPLEBAUM V/O**

The terrorists need to be eradicated.

07:24

**JEREMY BOWEN V/O**

Would you like to see Yasser Arafat expelled?

**CU NATAN APPLEBAUM, I/V SYNC**

07:28

**NATAN APPLEBAUM**

Getting rid of Arafat will not solve our problems, but he is definitely one of the people that need to be taken out.

**B/W ARCHIVE: SLO-MO MCU ARAFAT  
WAVING & HOLDING MICROPHONE  
FREEZE FRAME & FADE TO**

07:30

07:39

**MUSIC**

**EXT. DAY: TRACKING SHOTS OF  
COUNTRYSIDE & ROAD**

07:40

07:43

**COMM**

To investigate Arafat's links with the people that Israelis consider terrorists we went to Jenin, on the northern part of the West Bank, just across the border from Israel.

**MS BOWEN DRIVING, TO CAMERA**

07:54

07:57

**JEREMY BOWEN**

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**This is the way into Jenin. There's a real contrast to the lush farmland on the Israeli side.**

**TRACKING SHOT OF ROAD BLOCK  
AHEAD, Z/I ON TANKS AT SIDE OF  
ROAD**

08:03

**JEREMY BOWEN V/O**

**This feels like the entrance to a war zone**

**O/S MS SOLDIER OPENS DOOR TO  
CHECK BOWEN'S PAPERS**

08:11

**JEREMY BOWEN**

**Shalom ... BBC**

**WS TANK SEEN THRU WINDSCREEN**

08:16

**WS OBSERVATION POST**

08:17

08:20

**COMM**

**Israeli forces blockade Jenin – and every other town on the West Bank.**

**H/A PANORAMIC SHOT OF JENIN &  
MOUNTAINS BEYOND**

**TRACKING SHOT OF JENIN STREET,  
THRU WINDSCREEN**

08:23

08:24

08:28

**COMM**

**We went there to look at Arafat's relationship with the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades.**

**WS TRACK PAST SHOPS & PARKED  
CARS**

**LS BOY WALKS PAST RUINED HOUSE**

08:31

08:35

**COMM**

**They were frontline Palestinian fighters when Israel reoccupied Jenin and the rest of the West Bank last year.**

**CU RUBBLE OF WRECKED BUILDING**

**CU ARAFAT POSTER AMONG RUBBLE**

08:38

08:39

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08:42

**COMM**

And they're also suicide bombers.

**STILL: HAIDAR IRSHEID ON MOBILE PHONE**

08:45

08:46

**COMM**

Haidar Irsheid was the governor of Jenin, appointed by Yasser Arafat himself to to represent the Palestinian Authority

**RECONSTRUCTION: ABDUCTION OF HAIDAR IRSHEID**

08:55

**MUSIC**

**CAPTION SUPERED: 'RECONSTRUCTION'**

08:58

09:03

09:19

**COMM**

In July, men from the Al Aqsa brigades went to his house – and took him away at gunpoint.

**COMM**

They say he was corrupt – or perhaps it was a convenient way for Arafat to remove him.

**EXT. DAY: H/S WS STREET & TRAFFIC IN JENIN**

09:24

**WS PEOPLE AT CAF TABLES**

**CHATTING**

**MS MEN CHATTING**

09:25

09:28

09:31

**COMM**

The gunmen took the governor to the centre of Jenin, a crowded place, where plenty of people could see how they dealt with their enemies.

**MCU MOHAMMED, I/V SYNC**

**CAPTION SUPERED:**

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**'MOHAMMED'**

09:35

09:37

**MOHAMMED (translation)**

I rushed outside and saw them throw a man face-down on the ground. They started beating him, opening a wound in his head.

**MCU MAJDI SADI, I/V SYNC**

**CAPTION SUPERED:**

**'MAJDI SADI'**

09:43

09:44

09:46

**MAJDI SADI (translation)**

They were hitting him with sticks. They said he was the Governor and that he'd embezzled money and was a troublemaker and a gangster.

**MCU MOHAMMED, I/V SYNC**

10:01

10:03

**MOHAMMED (translation)**

His mother tried to help him, but she was hit as well.

**RECONSTRUCTION: HAIDAR IRSHEID  
BUNDLED INTO CAR & DRIVEN AWAY**

10:07

10:08

**MOHAMMED V/O (translation)**

Then they drove him away.

10:10

**MUSIC**

10:12

**COMM**

It took a personal phone call from Yasser Arafat to get the governor released. He fled to Jordan, denying the allegations against him.

**ARCHIVE: SLO-MO MS MEMBER OF AL  
AQSA BRIGADE HOLDING ARAFAT  
POSTER**

10:23

10:26

**COMM**

It's clear that Arafat has a close relationship with the Al Aqsa brigades.

**SLO-MO HOODED ARMED MEN**

10:30

10:33

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**COMM**

I wanted to meet them.

**SLO-MO MS PAN L WITH MAN  
CARRYING RIFLE**

10:36

**EXT. DAY: CU WHEELS OF BOWEN'S  
ARMoured CAR AS IT PULLS UP**

10:40

**MS BOWEN GETS OUT OF CAR, TO  
CAMERA**

10:46

**HE TURNS & WALKS AWAY FROM  
CAMERA**

10:49

**JEREMY BOWEN**

The people we're going to see are on Israel's wanted list. Getting this far has taken complicated negotiations, a couple of hours of waiting and a succession of intermediaries. Now it looks as if we've arrived.

**WS BOWEN APPROACHES DOWN  
ALLEY**

11:06

**TRACK WITH BOWEN DOWN ALLEY  
L/A WS BOWEN ENTERS COURTYARD  
& SITS DOWN TO WAIT**

11:07

11:09

11:12

11:17

**COMM**

Israel has a policy of seeking out and killing men on its wanted list. Finding the kidnappers wasn't easy.

**COMM**

There was another long wait, in the back yard of a woman whose husband and young son were killed by the Israelis.

**LS ZAKARIA & HIS MEN APPEAR  
AROUND CORNER**

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**PAN L AS ZAKARIA & BOWEN SHAKE  
HANDS, FOLLOWED BY LIEUTENANTS**

11:24

11:27

11:37

**COMM**

When they arrived they had a certain  
swagger.

**COMM**

Zakaria Zubaidi, leader of Jenin's Al  
Aqsa brigades, is 27. His lieutenants are  
barely out of their teens.

**MCU GUN, TILT UP TO LIEUTENANT**

11:48

**COMM**

Israel regards them as terrorists. In Jenin  
they are heroes.

**WS ZAKARIA & LIEUTENANTS SIT TO  
TALK TO BOWEN**

11:53

11:54

**COMM**

When the Israeli army isn't around, the  
young men who dethroned the governor  
are in charge.

**CU GUN BARREL**

12:01

**MS ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI, I/V SYNC**

**CAPTION SUPERED:**

**'ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI**

**Leader, Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades**

**Jenin Refugee Camp'**

**CU COFFEE CUP IN HAND**

**MS ZAKARIA A/B**

12:05

12:06

12:14

12:17

**ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI (translation)**

We did not kidnap the governor of Jenin.  
We took him into custody for a few  
hours. We want the President  
and the Palestinian Authority to hold him  
responsible for his actions  
because he stole money from the people.  
He also sent two of his thugs to  
assassinate a member of the Al-Aqsa  
Martyrs' Brigades. That's why we took  
him into custody.

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**CU HAND RESTING ON GUN**

**WS BOWEN & ZAKARIA**

**MS ZAKARIA**

12:29

12:33

12:37

12:38

12:40

**JEREMY BOWEN**

When you captured the Governor of Jenin, did Yasser Arafat speak to you directly telling you to release him?

**ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI (translation)**

Yes.

**JEREMY BOWEN**

What did he say?

**ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI (translation)**

We don't question his decisions. They're carried out first, and discussed later.

12:44

**MUSIC**

**B/W ARCHIVE: SLO-MO ARAFA  
GIVING PEACE/VICTORY SIGN TO  
CROWD**

12:46

**FADE TO**

12:48

**COMM**

Arafat is the man they trust – because of his past and because of what he's going through now.

**LS BOWEN TALKING TO ZAKARIA &  
LIEUTENANTS IN COURTYARD**

12:55

12:56

**JEREMY BOWEN**

How important to you is Yasser Arafat as a leader?

**MCU ZAKARIA**

12:59

13:00



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**ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI (translation)**  
He's important because he's a patriot.

**CU WALLET OPENED TO DISPLAY  
PHOTO**

13:04

**ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI (translation)**  
This is Yasser Arafat.

13:06

**JEREMY BOWEN**  
This is a picture of Yasser Arafat as a  
young man, when he was a fighter, right?

13:11

13:18

**ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI (translation)**  
Yasser Arafat with his weapon. All his  
life he's been a loyal fighter.

**JEREMY BOWEN**  
With a gun. Yasser Arafat with a  
kalashnikov, probably in the late '60s as a  
young man.

**TILT UP TO ZAKARIA**

**MS ZAKARIA**

13:28

13:31

13:33

**ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI (translation)**  
He's a man of peace and war, a man of  
resistance.

**JEREMY BOWEN**  
Is that what you want to be like?  
Is he your role model?

13:36

**ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI (translation)**  
I follow him because he is an honest man.  
At the same time he is free and seeks  
peace.

**MS LIEUTENANT KEEPING LOOK-OUT**

13:44

**MCU ZAKARIA FIRES GUN**

13:47

**WS ZAKARIA FIRES GUN AT TREE**

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13:50

13:52

**COMM**

Zubaidi shot at a tree to show off the Israeli army M-16s they've obtained

**MS SMALL BOY WITH PISTOL,  
LIEUTENANT GREETES HIM WITH A KISS**

**MS BOY FUSSED OVER BY  
LIEUTENANTS, PAN L TO FATAH BOSS**

13:58

14:00

14:03

**COMM**

Officially Fatah, Arafat's dominant faction in the PLO, is coy about its relationship with the brigades. But Fatah fixed up the interview, which was supervised by the local Fatah boss.

**L/A MS BOWEN TALKING TO ZAKARIA  
& FATAH BOSS**

14:16

**JEREMY BOWEN**

So you're the Chief of Fatah here?

**BCU BOWEN**

14:22

14:24

14:25

**TRANSLATOR**

He's the General Secretary of Fatah here

**JEREMY BOWEN**

So

explain to me, Fatah and the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, are they part of the same organisation? Are you separate, are you together, how close are you?

**BCU ATA ABU RUMAILEH**

**CAPTION SUPERED:**

**'ARA ABU RUMAILEH**

General Secretary of Fatah  
Jenin Refugee Camp'

**CU ZAKARIA'S HAND ON HIS  
SHOULDER**

14:34

14:35

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14:36

14:44

**ATA ABU RUMAILEH (translation)**  
Fatah has two sections: a military wing, led by the military and a political wing led by the politicians. But there is no difference between Fatah and the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades.

**BCU ZAKARIA**

14:48

**JEREMY BOWEN**

Are you his boss or he is your boss?

**L/A MS BOWEN, ZAKARIA & RUMAILEH**

14:51

14:53

**JEREMY BOWEN**

One's a politician and one's a soldier?  
OK, so who's more important now – the politician or the soldier?

**CU LIEUTENANT, TILT DOWN TO SMALL BOY**

**CU RUMAILEH**

14:59

15:01

15:04

**ATA ABU RUMAILEH (translation)**  
During this period of Israeli aggression, the military has the upper hand. We are defending our people and we cannot defend them using speeches and demonstrations.

**MS ZAKARIA**

**BCU RUMAILEH**

15:16

15:19

**JEREMY BOWEN**

And who is in charge of both of these two parts of the organisation, is it Arafat?

15:21

**ATA ABU RUMAILEH**

Yasser Arafat

**BCU BOWEN**

**BCU RUMAILEH**

15:23

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15:26

**ATA ABU RUMAILEH (translation)**

He's the only leader of the Palestinian people.

We only recognise Arafat as our leader.

15:29

**MUSIC**

**WS ZAKARIA & OTHERS WALK AWAY**

15:30

**ARCHIVE: SLO-MO MS ARAFAT AT DESK**

15:34

15:35

**EYAD SARRAJ V/O**

Arafat uses violence as a tactical thing.

He, I think, believes -.

**MS EYAD SARRAJ, I/V SYNC**

**CAPTION SUPERED:**

**'EYAD SARRAJ**

**Palestinian Independent**

**Commission for Citizens' Rights'**

15:41

15:43

**EYAD SARRAJ**

- that he could squeeze the Israelis into a position of saying okay. Mr Arafat, we're going to sit at the table. Well, Sharon is the complete opposite -

**ARCHIVE: SLO-MO WS SHARON, Z/I AS HE REMOVES SPECTACLES**

15:53

**EYAD SARRAJ V/O**

- of that, and he believes that

overwhelming power is the way to make the Palestinians and Arafat completely submit.

**MS EYAD SARRAJ, I/V SYNC**

16:02

**EYAD SARRAJ**

Between them there is this tug of war that is causing the harm to everyone else.

**ARCHIVE: AFTERMATH OF SUICIDE BOMBING – FIRE & MAN HELPED TO AMBULANCE**

16:08

16:11

**COMM**

The Al Aqsa brigades have carried out 13 suicide attacks during this uprising, killing more than 60 people.

**Arafat Investigated Transcript 9 Nov. 03**

**ARCHIVE: ARAFAT CONDEMNING  
SUICIDE BOMBING.** (ITN 3 19-5-2003)

16:20

**ARAFAT**

I condemn it completely this terrorist  
activity.

**ARCHIVE: AFTERMATH OF SUICIDE  
BOMBING**

16:24

**ARCHIVE: ARAFAT CONDEMNING  
SUICIDE BOMBING** (APTN 19-5-2003  
Story Number: 374957)

16:26

**ARAFAT**

You know we are against -

**ARCHIVE: AFTERMATH OF SUICIDE  
BOMBING**

16:28

**ARAFAT V/O**

- these suicidal activities

**ARCHIVE: ARAFAT CONDEMNING  
TERRORISM EX** (APTN 8-12-2001)

16:33

**ARAFAT**

Yes I am against terrorism

**ARCHIVE: AFTERMATH OF SUICIDE  
BOMBING**

16:35

**COMM**

The Israelis say his words are lies.

**EXT. DAY: WS WOMEN'S RALLY IN THE  
MUKATA**

16:40

**CU FLAGS**

16:42

**CHANTING** (subtitles)

To Jerusalem we are heading

**CU YOUNG WOMAN IN CROWD**

16:46

martyrs by the millions

**CU ARAFAT WATCHING RALLY**

16:49

**MCU CAMERAMAN**

**CU ARAFAT HANDED GIRL HOLDING  
FLAG**

**B/W STILL: DALAL AL MUGHRABI**

16:50

**Arafat Investigated Transcript 9 Nov. 03**

16:53

16:56

16:59

**COMM**

Israel says that when he speaks to his own people, he shows what he really thinks. Just outside the door of his headquarters, he invoked the memory of Dalal al Mughrabi, widely regarded by Palestinians as a national heroine.

**MS BANK OF NEWS CAMERAS AT RALLY**

**BCU ARAFAT POSTER**

17:04

17:05

17:08

**ARAFAT (subtitles)**

Dalal al Mughrabi...

is the road to victory

**MCU ARAFAT LEADING CHANTING**

17:11

**WOMEN CHANTING (subtitles)**

Dalal al Mughrabi  
is the road to victory

**B/W STILL: DALAL AS ACTIVIST**

**ARCHIVE: LS BURNING BUS, MARCH 13**

1978

17:17

17:18

17:22

**COMM**

In 1978 Dalal al Mughrabi led a group of Palestinian gunmen who landed on an Israeli beach in rubber dinghies.

**ARCHIVE: AFTERMATH OF ATTACK,  
INJURED IN AMBULANCES, COFFINS AT  
FUNERAL**

**CAPTION SUPERED:**

'March 1978'

17:27

**ACTUALITY**

The 11 terrorists carried with them a combination of sub-machine guns, rockets and mortar grenades. In an orgy of bloodshed on the coastal road, 37 people were killed and 76 injured. It was the worst terrorist incident in the history of Israel.

**EXT. DAY: WS WOMEN'S RALLY AT**

**Arafat Investigated Transcript 9 Nov. 03**

**THE MUKATA**

**MCU ARAFAT**

17:47

17:49

17:53

**COMM**

Palestinians deny he's urging the women to emulate Mughrabi. Instead, they say, the chants are symbolic, ritualistic – not a guide to policy.

**MS EYAD SARRAJ, I/V SYNC**

18:01

**EYAD SARRAJ**

He believes that leaders have to er, er, er, excite the people in order to lead.

**MCU ARAFAT WATCHING WOMEN'S RALLY A/B**

**O/S LS ARAFAT WATCHING RALLY**

18:12

18:19

**EYAD SARRAJ V/O**

If the Israelis are not going to leave the land by themselves peacefully, with negotiations, the Palestinians will continue to resist. This is the me – real meaning.

**MS EYAD SARRAJ, I/V SYNC**

18:24

**EYAD SARRAJ**

So Arafat is only translating these sentiments into his short sentences, er, which become like slogans.

**MCU ARAFAT WATCHING WOMEN'S RALLY A/B, Z/O TO MS**

18:32

**EYAD SARRAJ V/O**

I think that he doesn't know that leadership doesn't have to be through slogans and excitement.

**MS EYAD SARRAJ, I/V SYNC**

18:38

**EYAD SARRAJ**

It can be also through very wise speeches that give the people directions.

**L/A WS ARAFAT MAKES PEACE/VICTORY GESTURE FROM WINDOW**

18:45

18:46

**MUSIC**

**MS ARMS OF MAN IN CROWD**

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**SIGNALLING BACK**

18:47

**ARCHIVE: INTIFADA, YOUTHS  
THROWING STONES, ISRAELI  
SOLDIERS OPENING FIRE ETC**

**ARCHIVE: PALESTINIAN FUNERAL**

**WS HOODED PLO MEN FIRE INTO THE  
AIR**

18:48

18:49

18:56

19:05

19:09

**COMM**

The intifada started in September 2000  
after the collapse of the Camp David  
summit

**COMM**

Six years of peace talks to deliver a state  
for Palestinians and real security for the  
Israelis ended with bloodshed. Every  
attempt to revive the  
peace process since then failed. Both  
sides blame each other.

**ARCHIVE: WOUNDED ISRAELI SOLDIER  
CARRIED TO SAFETY**

**ARCHIVE: WS HELICOPTER LANDING**

19:12

19:16

**COMM**

Early on Israel and the United States tried  
to get  
Arafat to make a speech calling off the  
Intifada.

**EXT. DAY: LS BOWEN & KALMAN AT  
TABLE ON CAF TERRACE**

19:19

19:20



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**COMM**

Like the other foreign journalists in Jerusalem, Matthew Kalman was waiting to hear it.

**MS MATTHEW KALMAN, I/V SYNC**

**CAPTION SUPERED:  
'MATTHEW KALMAN  
Journalist'**

19:26

**MATTHEW KALMAN**

I think you have to remember that this was before the suicide bombings, it was before the real nasty terrorism.

**ARCHIVE: YOUTHS THROWING STONES**

19:33

**MATTHEW KALMAN V/O**

- and at that time it did seem to be containable

**MS MATTHEW KALMAN, I/V SYNC**

19:38

**MATTHEW KALMAN**

The plan formulated by the Americans was that the Israeli Prime Minister, Ehud Barak, the Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, would each make a statement at mid afternoon -

**ARCHIVE: ISRAELI SOLDIERS FIRING  
TEAR GAS FROM ARMoured CAR &  
YOUTHS THROWING STONES WITH  
SLINGSHOTS**

19:50

**MATTHEW KALMAN V/O**

- announcing that the fighting would stop and each side would withdraw. Ehud Barak -

**MS MATTHEW KALMAN, I/V SYNC**

19:56

**MATTHEW KALMAN**

- was sitting in his office, with a crew from Israel television and radio, with his statement prepared and they were waiting for confirmation that Yasser Arafat was doing the same with er, his broadcasting people in his office. And the messages kept going backwards and forwards that Arafat wasn't yet ready, that the people weren't yet in place er, and at first it was delayed by an hour, and then by another hour and then it was postponed and then it just disappeared.

**WS/2S BOWEN & KALMAN**

**MS MATTHEW KALMAN**

20:28

20:30

**JEREMY BOWEN**

Afterwards who got the blame?

**MATTHEW KALMAN**

**Arafat Investigated Transcript 9 Nov. 03**

**The Americans blamed Arafat. Very clearly.**

**ARCHIVE: YOUTHS THROWING STONES, RUNNING FROM TEAR GAS**

20:35

20:37

**COMM**

**But Palestinians don't believe Arafat could have stopped an uprising which had its own dynamic. His speeches reflected Palestinian opinion – they didn't challenge it.**

**ARCHIVE: MS ARAFAT EMBRACING ARAB LEADER & ADDRESSING DOHA CONFERENCE (EX AL JAZEERA dated 11 NOV 2000)**

20:47

20:48

**COMM**

**He played to his audience at home - and either forgot or didn't care that the Americans were listening too.**

**CAPTION SUPERED:  
'NOVEMBER 2000'**

20:54

20:55

20:58

**ARAFAT (subtitles)**

**Our people are more determined than ever**

21:01

**to continue our struggle through this just uprising**

21:06

**whose aim is to express our longing for freedom...**

21:12

**independence and salvation from the clutches...**

**ARCHIVE: PALESTINIANS DEMONSTRATING AT FUNERAL**

21:17

**ARAFAT V/O (subtitles)**

**of the aggressive Israeli occupation**

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**MS MOURNING WOMAN BY WALL**

21:22

**in all its violent  
and destructive forms**

**MS WEeping CHILD**

21:26

21:29

**MUSIC**

**ARCHIVE: GV's ISRAELI TANKS IN  
STREETS, REOCCUPATION OF WEST  
BANK**

21:31

**ARCHIVE: STORMING OF ARAFAT'S  
COMPOUND**

21:33

21:45

21:49

**COMM**

**But Israel worked hard – and successfully  
– to identify what it was doing with  
America's war on terrorism. In April  
2002, Israeli troops reoccupied the west  
bank.**

**They stormed Yasser Arafat's compound  
in Ramallah,**

**COMM**

**They claimed to have found documents  
proving that Arafat was funding suicide  
bombers.**

**MCU ARAFAT**

21:58

22:00

**COMM**

**Israel wanted regime change –  
and so did its most important friend.**

**ARCHIVE: BUSH SPEECH – (JUNE 24  
2002)**

**CAPTION SUPERED:  
'JUNE 2002'**

22:04

22:05

**PRESIDENT BUSH**

**Arafat Investigated Transcript 9 Nov. 03**

**Today Palestinian Authorities are encouraging – not opposing – terrorism. This is unacceptable. Peace requires a new and different Palestinian leadership.**

**ARCHIVE: SLO-MO BCU ARAFAT  
MOPPING BROW, Z/O TO MS**

22:22

**MUSIC**

**ALI JARBAWI SYNC**

22:26

**ALI JARBAWI V/O**

**Well Arafat is Palestine walking on legs.**

**MS ALI JARBAWI, I/V SYNC**

**CAPTION SUPERED:**

**'DR ALI JARBAWI**

**Professor of Political Science**

**Birzeit University'**

22:29

**ALI JARBAWI**

**He thinks that he symbolises the whole struggle, basically, and he doesn't differentiate between the national interest and his own interest.**

**ARCHIVE: MS ARAFAT, HAND TO  
MOUTH, Z/I TO CU**

**Z/O TO WS**

22:38

**ALI JARBAWI V/O**

**Of course, if you are a symbol of Palestinian er, resistance and someone from abroad will tell you, 'we don't want to talk to you and you have to remove your leader,' then it has to backfire. And it did**

**EXT. EVE: MOON EMERGES FROM  
CLOUDS**

22:53

22:54

**MUSIC**

**RECONSTRUCTION: PALESTINIAN**

**OPPOSITION MEMBER ARRIVING FOR**

**SECRET NIGHT TIME MEETING**

**CAPTION SUPERED:**

**'RECONSTRUCTION'**

22:57

22:59

**COMM**

**Arafat's Palestinian critics – and there have been many of them – sensed this was their chance. What was starting to look like an opposition to Arafat held a series of what they hoped were discrete meetings**

**STILL: NABIL AMR**

**Arafat Investigated Transcript 9 Nov. 03**

**FADE TO**

23:11

23:12

**COMM**

One of them, Nabil Amr, had written an open letter to Arafat criticising his leadership.

**RECONSTRUCTION: 2ND OPPOSITION LEADER ARRIVING AT ABU MAZEN'S HOUSE**

23:18

23:20

**COMM**

Some of the meetings were held at the home of a politician seen for many years as a potential successor to Arafat.

**STILL: CU ABU MAZEN, Z/I TO BCU**

23:28

**COMM**

He was Abu Mazen and he criticised the way that the intifada had become an armed confrontation with Israel.

**ARCHIVE: MS ABU MAZEN, I/V SYNC**

(EX AL JAZEERA DATED 25/9/2002)

**CAPTION SUPERED:**

'SEPTEMBER 2002'

23:36

23:39

**ABU MAZEN (translation)**

Things went over the top. Personally I was against using firearms and shooting from residential areas against civilians - practises which led to anarchy. Mistakes were made.

**RECONSTRUCTION: OPPOSITION LEADERS DISCUSSING**

**CAPTION SUPERED:**

'RECONSTRUCTION'

23:55

23:56

**COMM**

Arafat responded to the meetings and the criticism. He seems to have regarded them as a conspiracy against him.

**RECONSTRUCTION: YOUTH SPRAYING GRAFFITI**

24:05

**COMM**

Young men sprayed graffiti - a traditional form of political expression here condemning traitors who were selling their souls to America and Israel

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**RECONSTRUCTION: ARAFAT  
LOYALISTS SHOOT UP NABIL AMR'S  
HOUSE**

24:18

**COMM**

One night Arafat loyalists from the Al Aqsa Martyr's Brigades went to Nabil Amr's house and delivered a stronger message.

**WS NABIL AMR'S HOUSE**

24:30

24:33

**COMM**

Nobody was hurt. But everyone knew what the bullets meant. Arafat was not prepared to listen to his critics – let alone share power with them.

**CU BROKEN TILE ON ROOF**

24:39

**CU BULLET HOLE IN WALL**

**CU 2ND BULLET MARK**

24:40

24:42

24:45

**JEREMY BOWEN V/O**

After these meetings that Abu Mazen had, people have suggested that Arafat may have seen - seen it as a conspiracy against him.

**MS ALI JARBAWI, I/V SYNC**

24:47

**ALI JARBAWI**

Well internally they – we have so many difficulties. We don't have a – an elaborate political system. We're talking about personalities basically and the clash of personalities, and in doing so you have to understand what's going on and how people manoeuvre in – in political life. So yes, there were manoeuvres by many.

**ARCHIVE: ABU MAZEN IN STREET  
SURROUNDED BY BODYGUARDS &  
PRESS**

25:12

**ARCHIVE: ABU MAZEN SWORN IN AS  
PRIME MINISTER**

25:17

**Arafat Investigated Transcript 9 Nov. 03**

25:18

**COMM**

**But Arafat  
couldn't resist huge external pressures.  
Last May he appointed Abu Mazen as  
Palestinian prime minister**

**ARCHIVE: SLO-MO MS ABU MAZEN  
LOOKING THOUGHTFUL**

25:26

**MUSIC**

**EXT. EVE: GVS GAZA CITY**

25:28

**GVS ABU MAZEN ARMED CONVOY  
LEAVING HQ**

25:38

**COMM**

**In Gaza, there was an early test of the  
new prime minister's authority. Abu  
Mazen – moving around in heavily  
protected convoys – was determined to  
start building the institutions of a state in  
waiting, which he believed Arafat had  
neglected.**

**L/A WS PALESTINIAN FLAG ON POLE**

25:58

26:00

**JEREMY BOWEN V/O**

**This is Abu Mazen's headquarters in  
Gaza.**

**WS BOWEN TO CAMERA, OUTSIDE  
CIVIL SERVICE BUILDING**

26:02

**JEREMY BOWEN**

**One of his first targets for reform was  
Mohammed Abu Sharia, the  
head of the Civil Service. This is Mr Abu  
Sharia's headquarters, the building next  
door.**

**L/A WS CIVIL SERVICE BUILDING**

**WS ARAFAT POSTER ON WALL**

26:13

26:17

**JEREMY BOWEN V/O**

**But when Abu Mazen decided to replace  
him with his own man,  
he found out that Mr Abu Sharia had  
some very powerful friends.**

**ARCHIVE: ARMED MEN OUTSIDE CIVIL  
SERVICE BUILDING**

**CAPTION SUPERED:**

**'29 AUG 2003'**

26:22

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**GVs GUNMEN ON BUILDING & MAN  
LED FROM BUILDING**

26:24

26:25

**COMM**

Once again,  
gunmen from the Al Aqsa martyrs  
brigades intervened. Abu Mazen had  
American backing. It meant nothing in  
Gaza.

**CU GUN IN HANDS**

26:34

**SPOKESMAN (translation)**

We are here to carry out a  
decision taken by Yasser Arafat

**MS SPOKESMAN**

26:36

26:37

He is our leader

**CU GUNS IN HANDS**

26:39

Any attempt to challenge his  
decision will be met with bullets

**ARCHIVE: ARMED MEN INVADING THE  
OFFICE & CLEARING STREET OUTSIDE  
(AL JAZEERA)**

26:43

26:44

**COMM**

Replacing the head of civil service was  
considered crucial. The incumbent was  
accused of corruption, of abusing his  
post, which controlled official jobs. But  
for Arafat this was not about reform – it  
was about power.

**MS MAN LEADING PRO-ARAFAT  
DEMONSTRATION**

27:05

27:06

**CHANTING (subtitles)**

Do you want any leader  
other than Arafat?

27:09

No

**MS BOWEN OUTSIDE CIVIL SERVICE  
BUILDING, TO CAMERA**

27:11

**JEREMY BOWEN**

There was a clear lesson in all this for



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**Abu Mazen. His writ as Prime Minister  
didn't even run to the building next door.**

**ARCHIVE: ARMED MEN IN CIVIL  
SERVICE BUILDING CHATTING**

27:20

**FRAMED PHOTO OF ARAFAT & SARRAJ  
ON WALL**

27:23

27:24

**EYAD SARRAJ V/O**

Er, Arafat is – is er, a man that is -

**MS EYAD SARRAJ, I/V SYNC**

27:27

**EYAD SARRAJ**

- almost self centred. I mean, he – he  
doesn't like anybody challenging him.

**STILL: PAN FROM ARAFAT LOOKING  
SUSPICIOUS TO ABU MAZEN WITH  
HAND TO CHIN**

27:31

**EYAD SARRAJ V/O**

He can work with people, people can  
work with him, but not challenging him.

**MS EYAD SARRAJ, I/V SYNC**

27:36

**EYAD SARRAJ**

And I think this is basic er, er,  
understanding of Arafat.

**STILL: ABU MAZEN & PRESIDENT BUSH**

**STILL: ABU MASEN WITH PRESIDENT  
BUSH & ARIEL SHARON**

27:40

27:44

**EYAD SARRAJ V/O**

I think, Abu Mazen could not handle  
Arafat properly.  
He was taking the show for himself. That  
was too much for Arafat to bear.

**ARCHIVE: MS ARAFAT SPEAKING AT  
MICROPHONE**

27:49

27:51

**EYAD SARRAJ V/O**

Arafat is full of mistakes, but he's still the  
father of the nation.

**EXT. DAY: SLO-MO WS ZAKARIA &  
LIEUTENANTS WALK TOWARD  
CAMERA**

27:57

**MUSIC**

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**MS GUN IN HAND**

28:00

28:03

**COMM**

Arafat's loyal Al Aqsa brigades were also a target of the new Government. Abu Mazen thought he'd found a way to influence them.

**WS HAMAYEL & BODYGUARDS  
LEAVING BUILDING**

**TRACK WITH HAMAYEL &  
BODYGUARDS TOWARD CAR**

**MS BONNET OF CAR AS IT DRIVES OFF**

28:08

28:09

28:13

28:23

**COMM**

Abdel Fattah Hamayel, one of his ministers, implemented the policy. The idea was to offer the gunmen a small salary which Abu Mazen hoped might even stop the suicide bombs. Hamayel felt for them. As a young man he too was a gunman – and spent twenty years in Israeli jails.

**MS HAMAYEL, I/V SYNC**

**CAPTION SUPERED:**

**'ABDEL FATAH HAMAYEL**

Former Minister of Sports and Youth  
Palestinian Authority'

28:29

28:30

28:33

**ABDEL FATAH HAMAYEL**

(translation)

Originally, some people in these groups had been chosen to work for the security services.

**EXT. DAY: BCU GUN IN BODYGUARD'S  
HANDS, PAN TO FACE**

**CU GUN PART BEING CLEANED**

28:37

28:41

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**ABDEL FATAH HAMAYEL V/O**

**(translation)**

**So they were getting salaries, and still are doing so.**

**MS HAMAYEL, I/V SYNC**

28:46

28:47

**ABDEL FATAH HAMAYEL**

**(translation)**

**Others weren't getting anything.**

**INT. DAY: GV's MAN HOLDING BABY**

28:51

28:56

**A lot of them have families to support – they have wives, children and homes.**

**MS HAMAYEL, I/V SYNC**

29:05

**ABDEL FATAH HAMAYEL**

**(translation)**

**So a decision was taken to cover their living expenses, just as other groups are supported by the Palestinian Authority.**

**INT. DAY: CU MAN FEEDING BABY,  
PAN TO GUN ON HIP**

**WS MAN PUTS BABY IN COT**

29:13

29:15

29:17

29:20

**ABDEL FATAH HAMAYEL V/O**

**(translation)**

**We're not talking about a large number of people.**

**ABDEL FATAH HAMAYEL V/O**

**(translation)**

**There are not more than 450 in the Brigades.**

**MS HAMAYEL, I/V SYNC**

29:25

29:26

**ABDEL FATAH HAMAYEL**

**(translation)**

**So the payments amount to – at most – between \$40,000 and \$50,000 a month.**

**MS SHELVES & ARAFAT POSTER**

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29:34

**JEREMY BOWEN**

These payments you have been making -  
does Yasser Arafat know about them and  
does he approve of them?

**MS HAMAYEL, I/V SYNC**

29:40

29:41

**ABDEL FATAH HAMAYEL**

(translation)

This was a matter for the cabinet and the  
prime minister. Certainly Arafat knew,  
but he didn't take the decision.

**ARCHIVE: SLO-MO AFTERMATH OF AL  
AQSA SUICIDE BOMBING 2-3-02 ex BBC**

701

29:49

**MUSIC**

29:53

**COMM**

Hamayel insists the money is to  
encourage the Al Aqsa brigades to keep  
the peace - not to reward them for the  
suicide attacks they had already carried  
out.

**MS HAMAYEL, I/V SYNC**

30:05

30:08

**ABDEL FATAH HAMAYEL**

(translation)

The Palestinian Authority has repeatedly  
emphasized its view on this. We are  
against these types of operations because  
they run counter to the moral and  
religious principles of the Palestinian  
people as a whole.

**CU GUN COCKED**

30:22

30:27

**ABDEL FATAH HAMAYEL V/O**

(translation)

Neither Mr Arafat for Fatah have ever  
supplied money to these groups so that -

**MS HAMAYEL, I/V SYNC**

30:31

**ABDEL FATAH HAMAYEL**

(translation)

- they can acquire weapons.

**CU MAGAZINE PUT INTO GUN**

30:36

30:37

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**JEREMY BOWEN V/O**

**How do you know that the money you give them is not used for military operations?**

**WS ZAKARIA & LIEUTENANTS  
CLEANING GUNS**

30:44

**ABDEL FATAH HAMAYEL V/O**

**(translation)**

**The amount sent to them is very small. At most it's not more than £150 per person.**

**MS HAMAYEL, I/V SYNC**

30:49

30:53

**ABDEL FATAH HAMAYEL**

**(translation)**

**How can anyone buy weapons with this amount of money? £150 doesn't even meet a family's basic needs.**

**EXT. DAY: WS ZAKARIA WALKS UP  
STAIRS, BOWEN FOLLOWS**

31:02

**WS ZAKARIA & BOWEN COME UP  
STAIRS INTO RUINED HOUSE**

**WS CLOTHES ON LINE**

31:05

31:12

31:21

**COMM**

**In Jenin, Zakaria Zubaidi says they took the money without agreeing to anything – because they only listen to Arafat.**

**So – no**

**formal ceasefire though there have been no suicide attacks by the brigades since May. We were in the ruins of his home, where his mother was killed by the Israelis last year – when Zubaidi says he turned to violence.**

**MS ZACHARIA, GUN ON HIP, PAN R TO  
BOWEN**

31:26

**JEREMY BOWEN**

**So, do you believe then that suicide operations, suicide bombs against Israeli civilians ought to continue. There should be more of them?**

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**BCU ZAKARIA, I/V SYNC**  
**CAPTION SUPERED:**  
**'ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI**  
**Leader, Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades**  
**Jenin Refugee Camp'**

31:35

31:37

**ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI (translation)**  
**Of course. Martyrdom operations inside**  
**Israel are not the strategy of the**  
**Palestinian people.**

**LS ZAKARIA & BOWEN IN RUINED**  
**HOUSE**

**BCU ZAKARIA**

31:43

31:44

31:47

**ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI (translation)**  
**They're of no use to us politically.**  
**But they do have some advantage for our**  
**people, who are being killed every day.**  
**They want retaliation, revenge for the**  
**massacres committed by Israel. This is**  
**why we have martyrdom operations.**

**BCU BOWEN**

32:00

**JEREMY BOWEN**

**So if Arafat said stop these attacks, would**  
**the Al-Aqsa Brigades stop?**

32:06

32:07

**ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI (translation)**  
**Of course. But he won't order us to do**  
**this until Israel stops the assassinations.**

**PAN R TO BOWEN**

31:21

**JEREMY BOWEN**

**But do you continue with them because**  
**he says continue with them?**

**PAN BACK L TO ZAKARIA**

32:25

**ZAKARIA ZUBAIDI (translation)**

**We pay close attention to what he says.**  
**When Arafat calls for a ceasefire, we will**  
**respect his decision and stop.**

**ARCHIVE: SLO-MO MS ARAFAT**  
**HOLDING ZAKARIA'S ARM ALOFT,**  
**FREEZE FRAME**

32:33

**COMM**

**Arafat's influence over the Al Aqsa**  
**Brigades wasn't threatened by the new**  
**Prime Minister.**

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**EXT. DAY: MS PALESTINIAN POLICE  
TRAINING WITH RIOT SHIELDS &  
BATONS**

32:40

32:43

**COMM**

Nor was his control over the mainstream  
Palestinian security forces.

**MS OFFICER SHOUTING ORDER**

**WS POLICE MARCHING TOWARD  
CAMERA**

32:50

32:52

32:55

**COMM**

Abu Mazen wanted them. One reason  
why he resigned was his  
failure to get them

**MCU LEGS MARCH PAST R-L**

32:58

**LS POLICE DRILLING ON SQUARE**

**MS PAN OVER RUBBLE OF SHATTERED  
BUILDING**

**WS WELDER AT WORK**

**LS POLICE DRILLING**

33:00

33:03

33:10

33:13

**COMM**

The Israelis have destroyed most of the  
security forces' infrastructure –  
but Israel and the United States insist that  
Arafat's men could still crack down on  
Hamas  
and the other Islamic extremists, if Arafat  
issued  
the orders.

**WS STREET**

**MS BOWEN GETS INTO TAXI**

33:17

33:20

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**COMM**

Some of his security chiefs say they don't have the firepower – even if they wanted to do it.

**MS BOWEN IN TAXI, TO CAMERA**

33:23

33:28

**JEREMY BOWEN**

Anyway, for Palestinians it's not a military issue – it's a question of what's possible politically.

**TRACKING SHOT OF STREET THRU WINDSCREEN**

33:34

**JEREMY BOWEN V/O**

This is the beach refugee camp in Gaza. But go down any street here or in the West Bank and you'll find out why.

**MONTAGE OF SHOTS OF POSTERS CELEBRATING MARTYRS**

33:42

**MUSIC**

**MS BOWEN'S FOOT STEPS OUT OF TAXI**

33:44

33:50

**COMM**

Look at these posters in Beach Camp, celebrating suicide attacks, or martyrdom operations as they're known here.

**WS BOWEN APPROACHES POSTER**

**L/A O/S MS POSTER**

**MS 2ND POSTER**

**MS 3RD POSTER**

**CU 4TH POSTER**

33:54

33:55

33:56

34:00

34:04

34:07

**COMM**

Seven years ago, in 1996, there was a series of suicide



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bombings but then most Palestinians disapproved of them. With public support, Arafat ordered his troops into action against them.

**STILL: BLINDFOLD SUSPECT IN VAN**

**STILL: PRISONER BEHIND BARBED WIRE**

34:10

34:11

34:15

**COMM**

The crackdown was led by Jibril Rajoub – a veteran of 18 years in Israeli jails and still one of Arafat's main security advisers.

**MS JIBRIL RAJOUB, I/V SYNC**

**CAPTION SUPERED:**

**'JIBRIL RAJOUB**

**National Security Advisor to President Arafat'**

34:20

34:21

**JIBRIL RAJOUB**

In '96, first of all, we had an Israeli partner. We had a labour government, who were dealing with us on equal foot as a partner.

**EXT. DAY: MS ARMED POLICE CHECKING DRIVER'S PAPERS**

**MS POLICE VAN**

34:33

34:40

**JIBRIL RAJOUB V/O**

- And it was the responsibility of both of us to assure security for both of our peoples. Then the Palestinian people had a hope in their future,

**MCU DRIVER ON RADIO**

34:44

34:46

**JIBRIL RAJOUB V/O**

The substance of the problem is not in Hamas.

**MS JIBRIL RAJOUB, I/V SYNC**

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34:49

**JIBRIL RAJOUB**

This - that does not mean that I'm  
defending what Hamas is doing. I think  
that the er, er, substance of this problem -

**EXT. EVE: WS PEOPLE QUEUING TO  
PASS THRU ISRAELI CHECKPOINT**

34:59

**JIBRIL RAJOUB V/O**

- the heart of the problem is the Israeli  
occupation.

**MS GUARD CHECKING PAPERS**

35:03

**MUSIC**

**CU ARAB SILHOUETTED AGAINST  
SUNSET**

35:06

**PANORAMIC SHOT OF SUNRISE OVER  
MOUNTAINS**

35:10

**WS SUNRISE**

35:14

**H/A PANORAMIC SHOT OF HEBRON,  
PAN R**

35:19

35:20

**COMM**

Nowhere is the occupation sharper than in  
Hebron, a Hamas stronghold on the West  
Bank with a Jewish settlement right at its  
heart - where Palestinians believe the  
violence starts with Israel not with Arafat.

**MS BOWEN WALKS TO GATE TO  
HEBRON**

**LS BOWEN OPENING GATE**

**WS BOWEN**

35:33

35:37

35:50

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35:59

**JEREMY BOWEN**

If you're not a Jewish settler or an Israeli soldier, this is the only officially sanctioned way into Hebron. There's a heavy steel gate here. There's also a strong Israeli army position which they won't let us film.

It's a quiet crossing – because even though there are around 120,000 Palestinians living in Hebron, most of them are never let out.

**GVs RUBBLE OF DESTROYED  
BUILDING BEING CLEARED, WOMAN  
PICKING UP BITS & PIECES**

36:02

**GVs TENTS AMID RUBBLE**

36:08

36:27

**COMM**

This was a block of flats which was home to fifteen families. Two Hamas gunmen were killed in it, by Israeli soldiers. The Israelis say that if Arafat won't hit them, they will. But then they also hit the civilians here by clearing them out and blowing up their homes – a collective punishment of people whose only crime was to live in a place which Hamas gunmen used as a shelter in the middle of the night

**WS RATEB ZAITON, I/V SYNC  
CAPTION SUPERED:  
'DR RATEB ZAITON'**

36:34

**RATEB ZAITON**

We are the refugees of 2003, not 1948.

**WS MEN SEARCHING IN RUBBLE**

36:38

**RATEB ZAITON V/O**

Imagine somebody destroyed your house in front of your eyes. What kind of feeling you'll have?

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**WS PAN R ACROSS SITE OF  
DESTROYED FLATS**

36:44

36:45

**COMM**

About a hundred yards away, another building was hit by a stray tank shell. Human rights groups have criticised Israel for using tanks in built-up areas.

**INT. DAY: MS BOWEN CLIMBS STAIRS,  
TO CAMERA, TRACK WITH HIM TO  
BATTERED GATE**

**TRACK IN TO CU PICTURE OF FAHAIR  
ON WALL**

36:56

**JEREMY BOWEN**

Like many other buildings in Hebron, this one had been raided by the Israelis before. This is what happened on one of the previous visits, when they smashed open the door of this flat. Next door until that Tuesday lived Fahair Mansour, ten years old.

**PAN L AS BOWEN WALKS ACROSS  
ROOM AWAY FROM CAMERA**

**MS SHELL FRAGMENTS, GLASS ETC ON  
KITCHEN WORKTOP**

37:16

37:17

37:22

**COMM**

His blood was still on the floor of the kitchen where his mother found him, killed by a shell fragment as he ate his breakfast.

**MS Wafa Syoury, I/V SYNC  
CAPTION SUPERED:  
'Wafa Syoury'**

37:25

37:26

**Wafa Syoury (translation)**

They call us terrorists! That Yasser Arafat is a terrorist. And what are they? They were born terrorists. Everything they do is terror. The day I lost -

**STILL: FAHAIR & BROTHER, Z/I ON  
FAHAIR**

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37:33

**Wafa Syoury V/O (translation)**

- my son I prayed that they'd lose ten of theirs.

**GVs PEOPLE LOOKING AT RUBBLE OF DESTROYED FLATS**

37:38

37:40

**COMM**

Opinion polls this year say 60 per cent of Palestinians support suicide attacks. In 1997, only 24 per cent did.

**Dr Ratab Zaiton**

37:50

**JEREMY BOWEN V/O**

And if there's a suicide bombing -

**CU RATEB ZAITON, I/V SYNC**

37:51

**JEREMY BOWEN**

- because of what's been happening in Hebron what would your feelings be?

**BCU BOWEN LISTENING**

37:55

37:58

**RATEB ZAITON**

At this moment. At this moment nobody can even condemn. These people they know their duty towards their nation.

**GVs MEN SEARCHING RUBBLE**

38:02

**RATEB ZAITON V/O**

They know their duty towards their country. This is occupied land.

**CU RATEB ZAITON, I/V SYNC**

38:07

**RATEB ZAITON**

They are resisting the military action and the occupation itself.

**EXT. DAY: L/A WS AL QUDS HOSPITAL**

38:11

**MUSIC**

**WS BOWEN WALKS UP STEPS INTO HOSPITAL**

**INT. DAY: GVs PEOPLE VISITING WOUNDED POLICEMAN IN HOSPITAL**

**WS BOWEN ENTERS WARD  
WS BOWEN WALKS TO BEDSIDE,  
SHAKES HANDS**

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38:15

38:23

38:30

38:34

**COMM**

**What if Arafat did as the Israelis want, and turned his forces on Hamas and Islamic Jihad? While I was in Gaza, the answer became very clear. I went to visit one of Arafat's Palestinian policemen in hospital who was taken hostage by Hamas after Arafat's security service had arrested some of their activists.**

**MS MOHAMMED, I/V SYNC**

**CAPTION SUPERED:**

**'MOHAMMED EL SHEIKH'**

38:38

38:39

38:41

**MOHAMMED (translation)**

**I was grabbed by six people. I was pulled into a bus.**

**STILL: CU MOHAMMED SHOWING INJURIES TO HEAD**

38:49

38:50

**MOHAMMED V/O (translation)**

**Then they hit me on the head with a gun.**

**MS MOHAMMED, I/V SYNC**

38:54

38:56

**MOHAMMED (translation)**

**They handcuffed me. They placed a bag over my head.**

**STILL: MOHAMMED'S TORSO SHOWING INJURIES**

39:04

39:05

**MOHAMMED V/O (translation)**

**They beat me on my shoulders, kidneys, stomach and genitals.**

**MS MOHAMMED, I/V SYNC**

39:10

**They wanted to exchange me for one of**

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their members who was arrested  
yesterday by the Preventive Security  
Force

**STILL: CU INJURIES TO MOHAMMED'S  
ARM**

39:14

**JEREMY BOWEN V/O**

Why do you think they did this?

**MS MOHAMMED, I/V SYNC**

39:18

**MOHAMMED (translation)**

They wanted to exchange me for one of  
their members who was arrested  
yesterday by the Preventive Security  
Force.

**EXT. DAY: PAN R ACROSS ROAD  
JUNCTION**

39:25

**MUSIC**

39:26

**COMM**

Hamas put their people on to the streets,  
burning tyres and surrounding police  
stations. Shots were fired.

**CU BURNT-OUT TYRE**

**INT. DAY: WS MOHAMMED IN  
HOSPITAL BED  
CU GUN IN GUARD'S HAND**

39:34

39:35

39:37

39:40

**COMM**

In a hastily arranged truce,  
Arafat's police got their man back – but  
only  
by releasing their Hamas prisoners.

**WS BOWEN WALKS DOWN STEPS  
AWAY FROM HOSPITAL, TO CAMERA**

39:43

39:45

**JEREMY BOWEN**

All this demonstrates two fundamental  
facts about Palestinian politics as they are  
at the moment. First of all – Hamas is  
very popular. Second – look what  
happens when the PA tries to arrest even  
a handful of Hamas activists. It makes  
their worries about a Palestinian civil war  
look pretty credible.

**ARCHIVE: CU ARAFAT GIVES  
PEACE/VICTORY SIGN**

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40:08

**JEREMY BOWEN V/O**

The Israelis have said repeatedly that what Arafat didn't do was to take action -

**MS EYAD SARRAJ, I/V SYNC**

40:15

**JEREMY BOWEN**

- against Islamic extremist groups. Is that a credible course of action for any Palestinian leader?

40:21

**EYAD SARRAJ**

Of course not. This is laughable.

**WS STREET & POSTER OF MARTYR**

**DETAIL OF POSTER: BLOWN UP VEHICLES**

**2ND DETAIL: FACE OF MARTYR**

40:24

40:29

40:33

**EYAD SARRAJ V/O**

It is a sign of despair militarily that they have to opt for these very violent, very terrorist acts against children and women. But no Palestinian leader, Arafat included -

**MS EYAD SARRAJ, I/V SYNC**

**CAPTION SUPERED:**

**'EYAD SARRAJ**

**Palestinian Independent Commission for Citizens' Rights'**

40:37

40:38

**EYAD SARRAJ**

- can destroy Hamas if there is no Israeli acts on the ground that give the Palestinians the hope of having a Palestinian state in place.

**MS JIBRIL RAJOUB, I/V SYNC**

40:51

**JIBRIL RAJOUB**

As long as the Israelis are occupying our lands, killing our people, having the - the - the assassination policy as part of their - of the way that they are dealing with the Palestinian people, no one can do anything.

**EXT. DAY: GVs PRO-ARAFAT RALLY, PEOPLE MARCHING WITH BANNERS & CHANTING ETC**

41:07

41:12



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**COMM**

**But the occupation is not ending – it's deepening. And the Israeli government has repeated its threat to send Yasser Arafat into exile.**

41:28

**JEREMY BOWEN V/O**

**So what do you do then if you do get rid of Arafat in some way?**

**MS EHUD OLMERT, I/V SYNC**

41:32

**JEREMY BOWEN**

**Who do you deal with then?**

**MS EHUD OLMERT, I/V SYNC**

**CAPTION SUPERED:**

**'EHUD OLMERT**

**Israel's Deputy Prime Minister'**

41:33

**EHUD OLMERT**

**Look. First of all we do not dictate who government of the Palestinians will be.**

41:38

**JEREMY BOWEN**

**You're isolating their leader, their elected leader.**

41:41

**EHUD OLMERT**

**The whole er, international community -**

**EXT. DAY: US FLAG BEING BURNT BY DEMONSTRATORS**

41:43

**EHUD OLMERT V/O**

**- at least the most important and influential factor, the United States of America, says Arafat is not in the game. So -**

**MS EHUD OLMERT, I/V SYNC**

41:52

**EHUD OLMERT**

**- don't tell me that we are ignoring their leader. We are ignoring a terrorist killer. And we're doing the right thing.**

**ARCHIVE: ARAFAT AT CONFERENCE TABLE, Z/O TO LS**

42:01

**JEREMY BOWEN V/O**

**And if the Palestinians say, 'look, he's our leader. If we're gonna make a deal with Israel we need our leader to sign it.' Then what happens?**

**MS EHUD OLMERT, I/V SYNC**

42:09

**EHUD OLMERT**

**As long as the leader will be a terrorist murderer there will not be peace. That's**

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as simple as that.

**EXT. DAY: CU MAN CARRYING  
ARAFAT PORTRAIT AT PRO-ARAFAT  
RALLY**

42:16

**GVs PRO-ARAFAT POSTERS &  
PALESTINIAN FLAGS ON DAMAGED  
BUILDINGS**

**WS BOWEN BY WALL COVERED WITH  
POSTERS**

42:20

42:22

42:34

**COMM**

The Israelis will only shift Yasser Arafat by killing him or deporting him. It would give them some temporary satisfaction. But it won't provide their people with the safety and security that they deserve. It could make matters much worse.

**TO CAMERA**

42:38

**JEREMY BOWEN**

While I've been here I've talked to lots of Palestinians. Quite a few of them had their doubts about some of the things that Yasser Arafat has done. But all of them from the most critical to ultra-loyalists were agreed on one thing: that Israel and America's isolation of Yasser Arafat has made him as popular with his own people as he's ever been. He may well be part of the problem, as the Israelis and the Americans say. But it's certain that he's still part of the solution as well.

**CU ARAFAT PORTRAIT & PALESTINIAN  
FLAGS**

43:14

43:15

**MUSIC**

**JEREMY BOWEN V/O**

- just as he's always been

43:19

**EYAD SARRAJ V/O**

I believe that -

**MS EYAD SARRAJ, I/V SYNC**

43:21

**EYAD SARRAJ**

- there is not a single Palestinian that

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would sign a peace treaty but Arafat. As long as he's alive. No Palestinian dare – dares to – to – to challenge Arafat's authority in that sense.

**MS ARAFAT POSTER**

**SLO-MO WS CHILD HOLDING ARAFAT PORTRAIT IN RALLY**

43:37

43:39

43:42

**JIBRIL RAJOUB V/O**

They can deport Yasser Arafat, they can kill Yasser Arafat even. But -

**MS JIBRIAL RAJOUB, I/V SYNC**

43:46

**JIBRIL RAJOUB**

- the reaction would be catastrophic to the Israelis and to the Jews forever.

**ARCHIVE: CU ARAFAT EMBRACED BY SUCCESSION OF PALESTINIANS**

43:54

44:01

**END CREDITS**

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**FREEZE FRAME & FADE TO BLACK**

44:09

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